133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[169] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[267] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewiːba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroní and its tributaries
[139] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[188] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
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97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi[9] is usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregaːnsa and the yaichi[9] are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuːru-pregaːnsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence. Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear. The most prized type of pendant, panadainoˀ, and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[a], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[a] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 184 Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. 531 The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karõi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

*285 Around it is woven a vertical rim, extending both above and below, which is made of the same material (manare) but may be considered as true weaving rather than woven plaiting. The bottom strands that reach a given edge at right angles become the weft strands of the rim. They are taken two at a time, making a two-ply weft, and are woven upward across two (sometimes three) warp strands (ordinary manare, not heavier rails as in some allied trays) and doubled around a third (or fourth) whence they return next to their former course, closing the fabric as far as the weft is concerned (although the warp strands are spread apart). Past the join with the bottom of the tray, they continue downward across two warp strands, double on a third, return in adjacent courses, and are cut off near the join.

Upper and lower edges are bound with heavy pieces of split cane, inside and outside, lashed on with wadapi. In addition to this the upper edge is more smoothly and elegantly finished by placing a slender stick spirally wrapped with wadapi above the edge of the basketry between the split reeds and lashing it on at the same time. A brace of wadapi, specially wrapped with the same strand, is now attached across each corner at the upper rim and a short vertical stick, notched for the corner of the basketry, is lashed outside each corner, forming legs and making what some students have (rather confusingly) called a table. Some tribes are said to use these trays without legs, and obviously they would function without this addition, but I saw no completed Kamarakoto square trays without legs.

[171] [184] Since essentially similar trays are known from British Guiana, it would be supposed that the Taurepánes would make them also, and so they may, but in fact I have found no mention or description of them among the Taurepánes and my Taurepán informants did not know either the object or any basketry name similar to matu:tu. This probable absence and certain rarity among the Taurepánes of what is technically one of the most complex Kamarakoto basketry forms tends to confirm my opinion that the Kamarakotos are probably somewhat superior to the Taurepánes in this art.

The uses of this tray are essentially the same as those of the ocapa but its being raised from the ground and stable makes it more suitable for many purposes, such as drying cotton.

[171] The casave sifter, pangai[9] (Fig. 56A), is an example of specialized basketwork that serves only one purpose. Every household requires at least one and it is so essential in the preparation of casave that it occurs among all casave-eating Indians with numerous variations in weave but very little in basic pattern.

In the common Kamarakoto form the bottom or main surface, woven flat, is an elongate rectangle of open twilled woven plaiting. It is divided into four quadrants by intersecting lines of half-closed three-strand twill. Each quadrant has an all-over pattern, generally one-over-two, but this method of joining

[text continues on p. 191]

*286 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʾ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʾ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basket-work, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 [128] [237] As regards the dart-quiver, nōi-yę (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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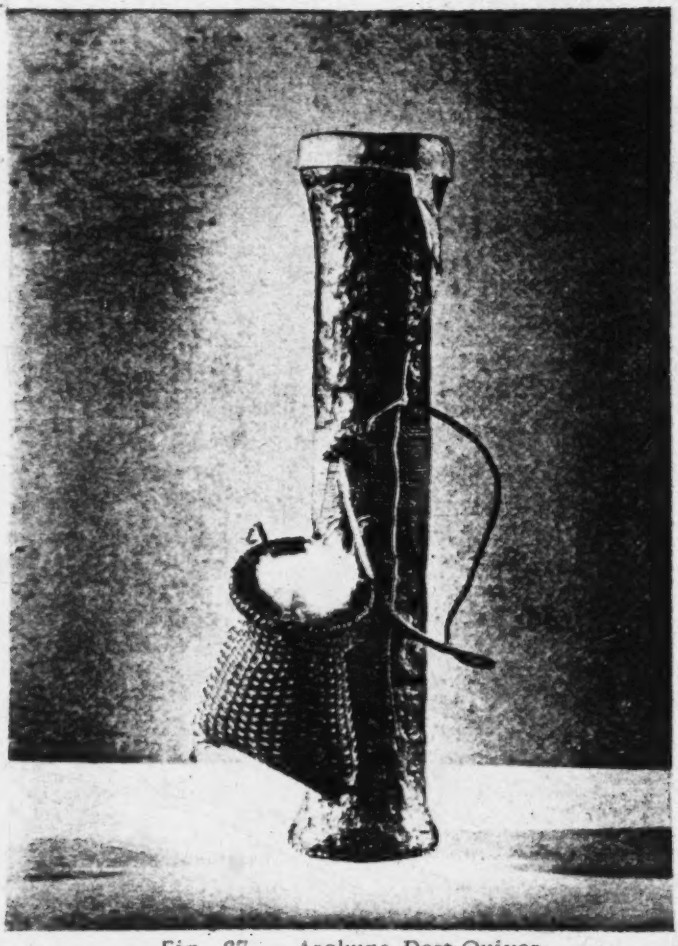

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (möi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui³) full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map. liana bridges especially typifying north-western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepáne (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[487] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepáne and some other Arekuna use bark canoes, the so-called
[184] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[824] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawan-yé', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [514] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, ● 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

● [184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual 184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or 302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown 114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians 824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized 283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is 286 made of bast-thread while the sometim[illegible]ore aristocratic "hamaca," usually 352 factory-made, is of cotton.